who attached to himſelf Lacoſte and Degraves. This diſpute appears to have originated from madame Roland's practice of giving cabinet dinners, to which the Girondiſt members of the aſſembly were invited, and by this means obtained undue information of the intended meaſures of government. Dumouriez remonſtrated againſt this glaring impropriety; but the uxorious Roland could not be prevailed on to diſcontinue it; and Dumouriez and his friends deſiſted from bringing their papers to theſe meetings. This is his repreſentation of the matter: on the other ſide it is averred, that the immorality and profligacy of Bonne Carrere gave offence to the virtuous Roland; and that at one of theſe dinners he, in preſence of Briſſot and Genſonné, ſo warmly remonſtrated with him on the ſubject, as to induce him to abſtain from meeting with the deputies, or bringing his papers to the cabinet dinners[j]. The ſcale of probability inclines to Dumouriez's account; for it is very unlikely that perſonal character was much conſidered by theſe perſons; and if that was the motive of diſagreement, it could not have extended to Lacoſte, Degraves, and Duranthon. The breach, however, grew wider; madame Roland took every opportunity to urge the impoſſibility of the king's being ſincere in his love for the conſtitution; and to impel her huſband to act in a manner diſreſpectful to the ſovereign and diſagreeable to his rivals[k].

This mode of conduct being followed by Claviere, while Dumouriez and his aſſociates preſerved a ſhew of reſpect, naturally produced gratitude and confidence from the king to thoſe whom, by compariſon, he conſidered his friends. Dumouriez had two private interviews with the queen, of which he has given an account. At the firſt, the unfortunate princeſs gave way to thoſe emotions which her ſituation excited, and expreſſed anger and antipathy

Diſtreſs of the king and queen.

[j] Appeal, &c. vol. ii. p. 15. [k] Ibid. vol. i. p. 67.

againſt

againſt her oppreſſors. At the ſecond ſhe made thoſe heart-piercing complaints which feelingly deſcribed her miſerable ſituation [l]. Had Dumouriez poſſeſſed, I will not ſay the ſentiments of a *French gentleman*, but merely the common principles of humanity, he would have exerted all his addreſs, riſked all his credit, or hazarded his life, if neceſſary, to alleviate her ſufferings. He contented himſelf, however, with exhibiting conſternation and uttering ſighs, confining his conſolations to *advice* which he knew to be impracticable, a cordial union with the national aſſembly.

Inſolence of the republicans.

The ſtrength of the king's opponents in the cabinet was augmented by the reſignation of Degraves, who was ſucceeded by Servan, an intimate friend of Briſſot. This new ally increaſed their audacity, and they determined no longer to keep any meaſures. Madame Roland had ſuggeſted the neceſſity of turning out Dumouriez to preſerve the power themſelves [m]; and Dumouriez thought to ſhelter himſelf by means of the king. The attack was commenced at one of the cabinet dinners, where Guadet produced a draft of a long, harſh, and inſolent letter, to be written by the ſix miniſters to the king, for the purpoſe of compelling him to diſmiſs his non-juring confeſſor, and take one who had ſubmitted to take the civic oath. The oppoſition made by Dumouriez and Lacoſte to this tyrannical propoſal enraged Guadet; but it was at length withdrawn, though not without a threat that it ſhould be ſpeedily renewed.

Further attempts.

Foiled in this attempt, and ſeeing the impoſſibility of uniting the cabinet, the Rolandiſts determined to declare open war. They commenced the attack in their news-papers, by decrying Dumouriez and Lacoſte as enemies to the conſtitution, who encou-

[l] See Memoirs of the KING, &c.
[m] Appeal, &c. vol. i. p. 73. vol. ii. p. 16.

raged

raged the king to reſiſt it in the moſt important articles. They wiſhed to force the worthleſs Sillery on the king as governor to his children; and to ſend a horde of Jacobins as commiſſioners to St. Domingo; but were defeated in both their attempts. They made a perſonal attack on Dumouriez reſpecting the ſix millions (262,500 *l.*) allowed for ſecret ſervice money, by attempting to take advantage of an omiſſion in the drawing up of the decree; but Dumouriez made them abandon the project and amend the decree. From theſe ſucceſſes it is probable that he entertained hopes of ſecuring to himſelf the ſituation of prime miniſter; of eſtabliſhing the royal authority to a certain degree under his own auſpices, and obtaining a more certain and more exalted ſituation than could be expected from the party to which he had hitherto been attached. But in trying the experiment he would incur no riſk: he urged the king to an exertion of his power; and when he found the ill effects of it, treacherouſly deſerted him.

Change of miniſtry.

The council was now irreparably divided. The Rolandiſts took every opportunity to inſult the king and torture his feelings; while Dumouriez, Lacoſte, and Duranthon parried their attacks. Roland publiſhed in his paper, called *the Thermometer*, an account of theſe meetings, and put the worſt poſſible conſtruction on the conduct of the king and his friends. Servan, without conſulting the king or the council, obtained from the aſſembly the infamous decree for a camp of twenty thouſand men. When it had been ſanctioned and delivered to the king, Dumouriez violently reprobated it, and adviſed the king to oppoſe his *veto*. He obſerved a ſimilar conduct with reſpect to the decree for tranſporting or impriſoning the non-juring prieſts; a meaſure which militated ſo much againſt the king's conſcience, that he declared he would never conſent. At length

Roland rendered it impoſſible to preſerve any longer moderation, by reading in council his audacious libel, written as a letter to the king. The patience of the unhappy monarch was worn out by theſe repeated attacks; he determined to diſmiſs the three republican miniſters; Dumouriez promiſed to ſupport him both in that and in refuſing his ſanction to the two obnoxious decrees, and nominated the new miniſtry himſelf.

Dumouriez war miniſter.

As no perſon could immediately be found to fill the war department, Dumouriez accepted it himſelf, and held it together with that of foreign affairs till Naillac, who was to be his ſucceſſor in the latter, ſhould return from Deux Ponts, where he was miniſter.

14th June. Attends the aſſembly.

In conſequence of his new appointment, Dumouriez was obliged to attend the aſſembly. He was already appriſed of the endeavours making by the diſmiſſed miniſters to incenſe the people againſt the king and all his adherents, and reſolved to ſacrifice his ſovereign to his own ſafety and popularity. He reached the aſſembly at the moment when the reading of Roland's letter was finiſhed, and when the printing, and tranſmiſſion of it to the departments had juſt been decreed. He ſaw the tribunes filled with *ſans-culottes*, prepared to receive him with ſcreams and hootings, and the Girondiſts anticipating his diſgrace and their own triumph. He was not diſmayed, for he well knew the character of his adverſaries; ſtrong in projecting ſecret frauds, weak when reſolutely oppoſed, and dragged into the light; cruel and violent in their character of perſecutors, but timid and abject when attacked. After announcing the death of Gouvion, who had been killed in an action near Maubeuge, he proceeded to read a memorial relative to the war department, which he was not permitted to finiſh without many interruptions. Being ordered to ſign his memorial, he

he did ſo, and inſtead of delivering it to the door-keeper, went and placed it with a haughty air on the table, traverſed the whole length of the hall with a ſlow pace, and went out by the principal door, fiercely ſurveying his enemies. This conduct ſilenced the tribunes; their curioſity was excited, and they precipitated themſelves from the galleries and corridors of the hall to have a nearer view of him. A violent debate enſued, accounts of which were occaſionally brought to him as he walked in the garden of the Tuilleries; but he treated the efforts of his adverſaries with contempt, eſpecially after they had decreed the printing of his memorial, which he knew would reſtore him to the favor of the party who were gaining the aſcendency [n].

Dumouriez now found it neceſſary to effect a ſpeedy and cordial reconciliation with the Orleans faction. He foreſaw that the king could not obtain the advantage in the conteſt, and reſolved to make a merit of betraying him. He accordingly intimated to him the intentions of his adverſaries, and the views of the formidable mob, which was already beginning to collect in the ſuburbs, and declared, without circumlocution, that he muſt reſign, unleſs the decree were ſanctioned. The king, conſcious of his own rectitude, anſwered, "Do not think, Sir, "that I am to be terrified by menaces; my reſolu-"tion is fixed." But though the unhappy ſovereign diſplayed this reſolution before a man of whoſe conſummate treachery he was now well convinced, he wrote to his friend, M. Bertrand, in terms which indicated anguiſh and indignation. "Only con-"ceive," he ſays, "the ſtrange inconſiſtency of "this man; after having perſuaded me to diſmiſs "thoſe three miniſters, becauſe they inſiſted on my "ſanctioning the decrees, he now abandons me

Treachery to the king.

[n] The courage of Dumouriez on this occaſion is atteſted by Dr. Moore. View, vol. ii. p. 484.

"for

"for perſiſting in the meaſure which he himſelf "urged[o]."

18th June. Reſigns. Dumouriez continued in the office of miniſter at war but four days, during which he pretends that he performed an aſtoniſhing quantity of buſineſs, ſo much that a critic on his work ſhews, with great ability, that it was phyſically impoſſible[p]. But he took care to give in his reſignation, and make his peace with the predominant faction before the grand exploſion burſt forth. He announced his reſignation to the aſſembly on the 19th of June, in a hypocritical letter, wherein he ſaid, that he envied the fate of the virtuous Gouvion, and ſhould think himſelf moſt happy if a cannon-ball ſhould unite all opinions reſpecting him. The aſſembly decreed, that he might repair to his poſt in the army of the north[q], where, it is worthy of remark, that the duke of Orleans was on a viſit, the purport of which was obvious.

Conduct towards la Fayette. The ex-miniſter remained in Paris ſome days after his reſignation. In that interval, la Fayette preſented himſelf at the bar of the aſſembly, with complaints againſt the Jacobin club and the Jacobin adminiſtration. That party, wiſhing to ſet up another military leader in oppoſition to him, deſired Dumouriez to repair to the club, and promiſed to bring the conteſt to an immediate iſſue; but he did not accede

20th June. Obſervations. to the propoſal. During the irruption into the king's palace, he ſhut himſelf up at home; he alledges as a reaſon, that he could not be of any ſervice. Had he really felt the contempt of death which he affected in his letter to the aſſembly, he might then have diſplayed it to great advantage:

[o] Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 284. See alſo from p. 266 to 287, for a full account of the tranſaction. Dumouriez relates it with a very different colour, but yet, even in his own account, his conduct appears far from candid; however, without entering into perſonal diſcuſſions reſpecting veracity, I think the greateſt credit due to M. Bertrand, on the ground of diſintereſtedneſs.

[p] Lettres ſur Dumouriez, p. 39. [q] Journals, &c.

had

had he been animated by that loyalty and attachment to the king which he has ſince pretended, he would at leaſt have made ſome effort in his favor, either in the palace or in the city. But it is unneceſſary to purſue the ſubject; whoever ſhall write the panegyric of the *miniſter* Montmorin, of the *general* Whittinghoff, or of any perſon, male or female, who on that execrable day ſurrounded their degraded ſovereigns, need be at no pains to ſtigmatize the hypocrite Dumouriez; the contraſt is in itſelf ſufficient.

6th July. Joins the army.

At length, having paſſed his accounts, he left Paris to join the army at Valenciennes under marſhal Luckner. The army was, at this period, divided: the majority of the generals preſerved the relics of military honor, and were deſirous to co-operate with la Fayette in his meaſures, ſo tardily adopted, for preſerving the royal family. The intereſts of Orleans were ſupported by Valence and Biron, who were extremely anxious for the aſſiſtance of Dumouriez. On his arrival at Valenciennes he was treated with the moſt marked neglect by all but thoſe two. The command, which was his due in point of ſeniority, was withheld; his arrival was not noticed in the order of the day; neither the counterſign nor military regulations were communicated to him; and he was not attended by any guard of honor: in ſhort, he remained, during ſeveral days, at Valenciennes, as a private individual. He was treated in a ſcoffing, contemptuous manner by the ſtaff officers, and with great bluntneſs by the marſhal himſelf. Orleans had made his appearance at Valenciennes, but his influence was inſufficient to balance that of la Fayette, and during his ſtay he ſaw nobody but Biron.

Treated with contempt.

Arrival of la Fayette.

La Fayette was now expected daily, and Dumouriez, who had probably received information from Paris of the increaſing ſtrength of the faction to which he was devoted, evinced a reſolution to emerge from his obſcurity. He obtruded himſelf reſolutely

reſolutely on Luckner, gave advice, notwithſtanding his repugnance to receive it, and perſuaded him that he was in an error in yielding to the intrigues of la Fayette, and the influence of Charles Lameth and Mathieu Montmorenci. But all theſe reaſonings were nullified by the arrival of la Fayette, to whom Luckner paid the moſt implicit reſpect. All the general officers received him at the head of their reſpective diviſions, except Biron, who pretended not to have been informed of the regulation, and Dumouriez, who had no poſt aſſigned him.

Dumouriez at Maulde.

After another remonſtrance, Luckner, to get rid of Dumouriez, appointed him to command the camp at Maulde, a ſituation inferior to what his rank and ſeniority entitled him to expect, but which he accepted with chearfulneſs. Here he employed himſelf in perfecting diſcipline, and gaining the eſteem of the ſoldiers. He uſed every means to excite enthuſiaſm, and concentre eſteem. One of his moſt extraordinary expedients was the choice of two female *aides-de-camp*, named Fernig[r]. While he was thus occupied, the plan was formed that Luckner and la Fayette ſhould change the armies under their command, and Luckner ſummoned Dumouriez to Valenciennes to conſult him on the occaſion.

Interview with la Fayette.

On his arrival, he was greatly ſurpriſed to meet with la Fayette, who received him with cool dignity. After diſcuſſing the intended operation, Dumouriez

[r] Theſe two young ladies were daughters of a regiſter, who had formerly been a quarter maſter of Huſſars, and reſided at Montagne: the eldeſt was twenty-two, the youngeſt ſeventeen years of age; both were ſmall, delicate, well educated, and modeſt. Dumouriez encouraged their ardour, made them march with all the detachments, and frequently publiſhed an account of their conduct, which intereſted the public in a very great degree, and pleaſed the convention ſo much that they gave them a houſe. They accompanied the general from Maulde into Champaigne, and afterwards into the Low Countries; they were preſent at the arreſtation of the commiſſioners, and accompanied him in his flight, in conſequence of which they were outlawed. Their heroiſm is extraordinary, the more ſo as it was not attended with any coarſeneſs of demeanor, and their chaſtity is unimpeached.

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ſaid to him, "You are doubtleſs ſorry, as well as "myſelf, that I ſhould be, for a few days, under "your command; I however promiſe, in the pre- "ſence of the marſhal, to ſerve you faithfully, pro- "vided you labor for the good of your country. "But you may eaſily imagine I cannot forget your "conduct, and I ſwear to you that we ſhall deter- "mine our quarrel at the concluſion of the war." This menace gave riſe to the report of a duel between the two generals, which was circulated at Paris.

Diſobedience of Dumouriez.

Dumouriez now received poſitive orders for his conduct, but in the abſence of la Fayette and Luckner, and after the arrival of Dillon, he aſſumed a power of diſobeying or extending them according to his own judgment. In fact, nothing elſe could be expected from the conditional promiſe he had made to la Fayette, and from the inſubordination inculcated by the Jacobin faction. This produced a complaint from Luckner to the king. La Fayette ſent orders to Dillon to arreſt Dumouriez, and ſend him to Metz, which, however, Dillon was afraid to execute, and therefore never revealed them till after la Fayette's defection. La Fayette had previouſly applied for a decree, authoriſing this meaſure, but it was fruſtrated by the repreſentations of Dumouriez, who maintained a conſtant correſpondence with the national aſſembly.

10th Aug. Conduct of Dumouriez.

Meanwhile the war was carried on merely on defenſive principles, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of Dumouriez, who was anxious to attempt the conqueſt of the Low Countries. Diſappointed in this aim, he waited for a more favorable opportunity; and continued to increaſe the ſkill and diſcipline of his ſoldiers, and to augment their perſonal attachment to himſelf. While he was thus occupied, the cataſtrophe of the 10th of Auguſt took place. Arthur Dillon, with a frankneſs and promptitude which do him the greateſt honour, had addreſſed a ſhort

and energetic proclamation to his army, recommending to them a renewal of the oath to ſupport the conſtitution, and remain faithful to the nation, the law, and the king. He tranſmitted orders to Dumouriez to take the ſame meaſures with the ſoldiers under his command; but Dumouriez was influenced by conſiderations widely different. He was better apprized of the real ſtate of affairs in Paris; and had learned from his faction there, *not to occupy his attention about the perſon of the king, who, all auguſt as he was, was no more than a ſecondary object*[r]. Independent of his real predilection for the Orleans party, he perceived that, by obeying Dillon, he muſt have acted in a capacity ſubordinate to both him and la Fayette. He accordingly diſregarded the orders, and adminiſtered the oath to maintain liberty and equality[s]. He already anticipated his triumph over Dillon, and congratulated himſelf on his approaching conſequence in a letter to Genſonné, where he ſays; "Dillon has undone himſelf "by an avowal of his attachment to the royal "cauſe. I have formally diſobeyed him; I hope I "ſhall at length have it in my power to render "great ſervice to the ſovereignty and liberty of the "French nation[t]."

Commander in chief.

But theſe expectations were not immediately fulfilled. La Fayette had completed his career by flight, after having impriſoned the commiſſioners charged to arreſt him. The commiſſioners ſent to the other diviſions of the army had received Dillon's apologies, and reſtored him to his rank. Dumouriez thought this deciſion injurious to himſelf, and

[r] Dumouriez's own words. Life, vol. iii. p. 59. His whole reaſoning on this event, is abſurd and fallacious, in proportion to the treachery of his original conduct, and the hypocriſy of his ſubſequent ſtatements.

[s] Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 165. Impartial Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 120, &c.

[t] Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 172.

prevailed

prevailed on Couthon, who was then at St. Amand, to repreſent the caſe to the commiſſioners. Meanwhile the friends of Dumouriez in Paris, had procured the complete gratification of his wiſhes by nominating him commander in chief of the two armies. His firſt ſtep was to make ſome promotions which he deemed neceſſary for the good of the ſervice, and to liberate the commiſſioners whom la Fayette had arreſted. 24th Aug.

State of the army.

On taking the command of la Fayette's army, Dumouriez found it in a moſt alarming ſtate. A general conſternation prevailed. The ſoldiers conſidered all their officers as traitors, and neglected all diſcipline and ſubordination. The troops, eſpecially the cavalry, were attached to their former general, and prejudiced againſt their new commander. He was execrated as the author of a war which promiſed neither honour or advantage, and which was no leſs unpopular in the camp than in the country. He was unknown to the officers with whom he was to co-operate, and the ſoldiers he was to command. The news of the king of Pruſſia's invaſion ſpread terror and diſmay. Verdun was beſieged; and an army of only twenty-three thouſand diſorganized troops was all the force oppoſed to upwards of eighty thouſand well-diſciplined men, conducted by a powerful monarch and celebrated generals.

Commencement of the campaign.

Under theſe inauſpicious circumſtances, Dumouriez commenced a campaign, which, from its ſucceſs, may be reckoned among the moſt glorious of thoſe which adorn the page of hiſtory. It is not within the compaſs of this work to deſcribe the manœuvres of the war, nor ſhall I attempt to elucidate the motives which directed the conduct of the allies. Much has been written, and many contradictory narratives confidently circulated, but nothing diminiſhes the military reputation of the general. Whether any part of his ſucceſs was owing to dexterous negotiation or deceitful promiſes,

cannot be exactly aſcertained, but the conduct of his opponents is in many reſpects inexplicable.

28th Aug. Council of war.

His firſt ſtep was to aſſemble a council of war, in which Dillon, who now ſerved under Dumouriez, recommended a plan which had for its principal object the defence of Paris. Dumouriez did not expreſs his ſentiments on the ſubject, but in private determined otherwiſe; he communicated his projects to colonel, afterwards general, Thouvenot, and they jointly reſolved to defend the foreſt of Argonne, as the Thermopylæ of France. Part of his hopes were founded on the obſtruction which the Pruſſians were likely to encounter at Verdun; that place, however, ſurrendered without any defence, notwithſtanding a reinforcement which he had diſtreſſed himſelf to ſend, and in ſpite of the remonſtrances and deſperate heroiſm of Beaurepaire [b].

Surrender of Verdun.

Oppoſition of the generals.

When Dumouriez had aſſumed the poſition on which all his expectations depended, he had ſtill inconceivable difficulties to ſurmount. The other generals openly diſapproved his plan; they cenſured all his meaſures, and as each of them had his little

[b] BEAUREPAIRE was colonel of the regiment of Mayenne and Loire, and commander of the garriſon of Verdun. The town was not ſtrong, but well victualled; the garriſon conſiſted of two battalions only. The magiſtrates and citizens propoſed to capitulate; he repaired to the town-hall, and remonſtrated againſt the intentions. His arguments, however, failed of effect; treaſon or terror pleaded more powerfully on the other ſide, and the ſurrender was reſolved on. Enraged at this, Beaurepaire drew a piſtol and ſhot himſelf in full council. His ſoldiers, animated by this act of heroiſm, would not ſuffer him to be buried in a city which was ſoon to be in the poſſeſſion of an enemy, but conveyed him to St. Menehould. The national aſſembly, decreed that his remains ſhould be moved from St. Menehould to Paris, and interred in the Pantheon; that an inſcription ſhould be placed on his monument, denoting that he preferred death to a capitulation with tyrants; and that his pay ſhould be continued to his widow and ſon during their lives. The regiment of which he had been colonel aſſumed his name, and when the Pruſſians evacuated Verdun, the commune of Paris reſolved that the name of that city ſhould be changed to Beaurepaire. This act of ſuicide was beneficial to the public, by exciting heroic ſentiments and reſolute fidelity; the French were ſo ſenſible of this, that ſoon after the event, the DEATH OF BEAUREPAIRE formed the ſubject of a dramatic ſpectacle at Paris.

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cabal, his junto of friends in the metropolis, to them they made conſtant appeals. The ſoldiers were actuated by the ſame ſpirit; though diſcipline was in ſome meaſure enforced, yet they complained loudly of their ſufferings, and their impatience frequently broke out in remonſtrances againſt his conduct in confining them to the dreary wilds of *Champagne pouilleuſe*. In this ſtate he continued, enforcing his orders in defiance of oppoſition, and gaining the hearts of his men by frankneſs and affability, till the rainy ſeaſon commenced, when the ſituation of the invaders became truly deplorable. Their ſupplies were intercepted by the garriſons of Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, and Metz; ſickneſs and famine made the moſt diſmal ravages. It was the intereſt of the invaders to have attempted finiſhing the campaign by one deciſive engagement; this Dumouriez knew, and, notwithſtanding the ardour of ſome troops who were willing to riſk every thing, he reſolved to preſerve his ſtrength, and gain conqueſt by delay. He therefore determined to ſhift his poſition, and retreat from Grandpré to St. Menehould, which he effected in the night, with great privacy, in good order, and without accident, except an alarm ariſing from the miſtake of general Chazot, ten thouſand of whoſe troops fled before fifteen hundred Pruſſians, with ſuch precipitation and ſuch increaſing panic, that, but for the good conduct of Duval, Stengel, and Miranda, the whole army might have been annihilated. Dumouriez afterwards ſent fifty of the deſerters to Paris, diſarmed and pinioned.

16th Sept. Retreat from Grandpré.

Some of the fugitives ſpread the alarm with which they were infected even to Paris. In that perturbed city, terror, ſuſpicion, jealouſy, and fury prevailed. The moſt diſcordant opinions were broached reſpecting the principles and views of Dumouriez. He was with equal confidence accuſed of cowardice and temerity, indeciſion and obſtinacy; treachery

State of Paris.

was not omitted; and it was even aſſerted that he was gone over to the invading army, but the aſſembly prevented this rumour from gaining ground, by impriſoning the reporter [x]. The Rolandiſts in adminiſtration preſſed him to fall back for the defence of Paris, and medidated a flight acroſs the Loire, removing with them the king and the aſſembly. Dumouriez, however, refuſed obedience to their commands, engaging his own reſponſibility on the event, and their projected flight was oppoſed and prevented by Danton [y]. The general's anſwers were always couched in the moſt poſitive terms of diſobedience, and ſometimes of contempt for the miniſtry, who were too timid, ill-informed, and irreſolute to enforce ſubmiſſion or claim reſpect.

Abolition of royalty.

Meanwhile the national convention had aſſembled and pronounced the abolition of royalty. On this ſubject Dumouriez cloaks his principles under the ſemblance of patriotiſm. He ſays, "the general "was afflicted *at the extreme precipitation of ſuch a* "*meaſure*, but he had the enemy in ſight, and what- "ever might be his own private opinion, it did not "belong to him, in ſo critical a poſition, *to diſpute* "*with his nation the right of annihilating a conſtitu-* "*tion which it had given itſelf*, and of changing the "nature of its government." The abſurdity and hypocriſy of this poſition are groſs and flagrant. It ſeems to infer that the right of the nation to annihilate the conſtitution aroſe from their having created it; an inſinuation equally falſe and ridiculous, tending to create endleſs uncertainty in government, and juſtify the violation of oaths and compacts. The pretence that it did not belong to him to diſpute, comes with an ill grace from a man whoſe whole conduct was a ſeries of refractorineſs and diſobedience, and who boaſts that he maintained the poſition of his army by diſputing the com-

[x] Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 241. [y] See DANTON.

mands

mands of the functionaries of that very nation to which he pretends ſuch high reſpect. He further pretends that a fear of the invading army and of the emigrants ought to have reſtrained him from making any effort on behalf of the king; but he knew that, at that period, he could have obtained from the king of Pruſſia and from the emigrants, any conditions he choſe, and have reſtored peace and royalty by a ſafe and honourable negotiation.

Soon after the abolition of royalty, commiſſioners from the convention arrived in the army, and it is worthy of obſervation that Sillery, a man entirely devoted to Orleans, was one of them; Carra and Prieur were the other two. Several ſkirmiſhes had taken place, which tended to convince the invaders that under the preſent circumſtances, it would be impoſſible to attain the object of the campaign by force. General Kellermann intimated to Dumouriez, that a conference was requeſted by colonel Manſtein on behalf of the king of Pruſſia. Dumouriez immediately repaired to the place appointed, where, under pretence of negotiating an exchange of priſoners, a converſation was begun on the general objects of the war. In the courſe of this conference, Dumouriez was informed in the moſt unequivocal terms, that it depended upon him to put an end to hoſtilities; that, far from being reſtrained in his endeavours, he ſhould be furniſhed with all the aſſiſtance he could deſire, if he would terminate the diſorders of France; that he ſhould dictate the terms of peace, and that he would thus render the greateſt ſervice not only to his native country, but to all Europe. The reply was evaſive and general. At a ſecond interview they came more immediately to the point. Dumouriez having attempted to prove that it was contrary to the intereſts of the king of Pruſſia to continue the war, Manſtein aſſured him it was not the wiſh of that monarch, and preſented him with ſome propoſitions drawn up in

Conferences with colonel Manſtein.

22d Sept.

24th.

ſix articles, which Dumouriez himſelf acknowledges to be very moderate. The firſt was, that the king ſhould be liberated from priſon, and that his authority ſhould be reſtored to him in the ſame manner as it exiſted previouſly to the tenth of Auguſt. In anſwer to this, Dumouriez contented himſelf with ſhewing the *bulletin*, containing the decree for the abolition of royalty, expreſſing his extreme concern that things were carried to ſuch an extremity, more eſpecially as he did not perceive any remedy.

Retreat of the armies. 30th Sept.

A truce was agreed upon, ſo far as related to the ſkirmiſhes between the fronts of the two armies; but a few days afterwards, the duke of Brunſwick having publiſhed his famous manifeſto, Dumouriez terminated the truce without further conference. In two days, the combined armies commenced their retreat, which, though perpetually haraſſed and oppoſed, they at length effected, having loſt, by the account of Dumouriez, near thirty thouſand men, of whom not more than two thouſand fell by the ſword.

Reflections on the campaign.

Thus ended this celebrated campaign, which, whatever glory it may give to Dumouriez as a general and a negotiator, ſtamps indelible diſgrace on his name as a man and a ſubject. His affected reſpect for a decree of the convention, ſo ſurreptitiouſly paſſed as that for the abolition of royalty, and his omitting to publiſh the king of Pruſſia's propoſals, ſo as to give the nation at large the means of judging of their expediency, diſplay his motives in the moſt indubitable manner. His conduct could not be beneficial either to the king or the nation; it was calculated merely to benefit the Orleans family, whoſe views would have been ruined by peace, or by any treaty in which the intereſt of the unfortunate monarch was at all conſidered. At the ſame time, it muſt be allowed, that next to concluding the negotiation by dictating terms of peace, Dumouriez embraced the wiſeſt courſe he could poſſibly adopt,

adopt. He juſtified the opinion of the marquis de Bouillé, that he was a no leſs able negotiator than ſkilful general [z]. By his diſcourſes with Manſtein, and his memorial to the king of Pruſſia, he infuſed into that monarch thoſe ſentiments which, reinforced by other arguments, contributed to produce a coolneſs on his part to the objects of the war, created jealouſies between him and the emperor, and finally occaſioned his defection from the grand alliance.

Previous to his undertaking the conqueſt of the Low Countries, Dumouriez was anxious to taſte the intoxicating draught of popularity in the capital. Accordingly, without obtaining leave of abſence, which he pretends was not neceſſary, he repaired to Paris, and preſented himſelf at the bar of the national convention. He made a ſpeech, in which he aſſured the legiſlature, that "liberty was triumphant every "where; that, guided by philoſophy, it would ſoon "overſpread the univerſe, and, after having cruſhed "deſpotiſm and enlightened the people, would be "ſeated on all thrones." His ſpeech was replete with boaſts of the valour and good qualities of his ſoldiers, and with inſulting reflections on the enemy. He complimented the convention on the conſtitutional laws they were about to frame, in which he anticipated the happineſs and fraternity of nations; but he did not expreſs, directly or indirectly, the ſmalleſt ſolicitude reſpecting the fate of the king, or a wiſh that the rigours of his captivity ſhould be mitigated. A prodigious concourſe attended from the expectation of ſeeing and hearing him, but when his arrival was announced to the convention, the preſident ſuffered him to wait an hour in the antichamber before he was introduced. This cool reception was ſufficient to check the glow of confidence, and af-

12th Oct. Arrives in Paris.

[z] Memoirs, p. 502.

forded

forded but an hopeleſs ſpecimen of republican gratitude [a].

Calumnies of Marat.

To prevent ſuſpicion and obviate calumny, Dumouriez had found it neceſſary to declare that he only came to Paris to arrange the plan of a winter campaign, and that he intended to ſtay four days. During this period he was treated with the moſt flattering attention by the public, and by the Gironde in particular; but this circumſtance tended to injure him, and in the end was fatal to his power. Even while he remained in Paris, calumnies were circulated againſt him; the greatneſs of his ſervices and the brilliancy of his reputation could not ſhield him from the inſolence of Marat. The principal cauſe of complaint brought forward by this worthleſs incendiary, was his treatment of two battalions of Pariſian federates. Theſe men had murdered four Pruſſian or emigrant deſerters, who joined the French army at Rhetel, and by order of Dumouriez the whole battalions had been diſarmed, but on delivering up the perpetrators of the murder, their arms and colours had been reſtored. The culprits, in number forty-two, were ſent to Paris to be tried by the ſections to which they belonged. One of the principal delinquents, whoſe name was Palloy, having eſcaped to Paris, complained of the general's conduct to Marat, who immediately manufactured a charge of inciviſm, counter-revolution, and ariſtocracy, with which he daily filled the pages of his news-paper, and attempted to obtrude a falſe repreſentation of the buſineſs on the convention. He alſo ſeized the opportunity, when Dumouriez was enjoying, in company with the miniſters, a *fête* given by a diſtinguiſhed female at the *Theatre des Varietés*, to diſturb the prevailing harmony, and inſult the general in public. He went, accompanied

[a] Debates. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 112.

by

by the two other commiſſioners whom the Jacobins had appointed to inquire into the affair, Bentabole and Montault, and accoſting the general in the moſt brutal manner, ſummoned him to tell how he could have the audacity to commit a violent and tyrannical act againſt eſtimable citizens. Dumouriez, ſurveying him with ſcorn, replied, "What! are you the "man called Marat?—I have nothing to ſay to "you." But he addreſſed himſelf to the other commiſſioners, and entered into a full explanation of his conduct. Marat, however, did not drop the affair; he made a report of the interview at the Jacobins, replete with ſarcaſms againſt Dumouriez; he procured a new trial for the murderers, obtained a reverſal of their ſentence, and the charge of criminality was retorted on general Chazot, who had firſt complained on the ſubject [b].

16th Oct. Dumouriez appears at the Jacobins.

Notwithſtanding this inſult offered by the commiſſioners, Dumouriez could not diſpenſe with the neceſſity of viſiting the Jacobin club, where he was received in a very flattering manner. The compliments of the republican general were anſwered by the declamations of the republican preſident, Danton, and the abſurdities of the buffoon Collot d'Herbois [c].

Obſervations.

The private tranſactions of Dumouriez during his viſit to Paris cannot be aſcertained. Nothing which appears from any narrative by himſelf or others, juſtifies it on any oſtenſible account. It is ridiculous to aſſert that he left his army to concert a plan of operations with miniſters whom he made a merit of diſobeying, and with whom he does not appear to have concerted any thing, not even the means of furniſhing his troops with the firſt neceſſaries. The thick veil which hides many of the intrigues of the Orleans faction will perhaps for ever prevent a

[b] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 159. 172.
[c] Id. p. 157. Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. i. p. 49.

certain

certain knowledge of his views and engagements; but his conduct at that and ſubſequent periods proves that he took his bias from the conſpirators of the Palais Royal. He was deſirous to effect a reconciliation between Danton and the Gironde, and certainly became jealous of the influence of the Mountain, and of the ambition of Robeſpierre. He attached himſelf to the miniſterial party, who neither loved or eſteemed him, and only countenanced him, becauſe their power would be augmented by his ſucceſs. By this conduct he exaſperated the Jacobins, who proclaimed every where that he had come to the capital merely to flatter his vanity, and to concert dangerous plots; and Marat announced, that the general was undertaking the conqueſt of the Low Countries, with a view to make himſelf duke of Brabant.

24th Oct. Joins the army.

On his arrival at Valenciennes, he learned that the war miniſter was changed, Servan having been ſucceeded by Pache. Although he found the army in want of every neceſſary, and was without money to pay the troops, yet he reſolved to commence his operations. This brilliant campaign, which firſt ſpread the terror of the French name, and laid the foundation of all their ſubſequent ſucceſſes, was calculated, as Dumouriez obſerves, like a game of cheſs, in conſequence of great ſuperiority in numbers and artillery. He iſſued a proclamation to the Belgians, replete with fallacy and deluſion, offering aſſiſtance which was not deſigned, and promiſing forbearance which could not be maintained. After ſeveral delays, owing to the refractory diſpoſition of general Labourdonnaye, and the want of ſupplies, he took the field. His firſt operation was rather unfortunate, from the ardour and inexperience of the Belgic infantry, who having gained an advantage over the Auſtrians at the village of Thulin, by purſuing their ſucceſs too far, were ſurrounded near the mill of Bouſſu, and after ſuſtaining conſiderable

28th. Proclamation.

3d Nov. Affair at Thulin and Bouſſu.

loſs, were with great difficulty reſcued by the regiment of Chamborant. This diſaſter was ſpeedily repaired by the battle of Jemappe, which was in the higheſt degree honourable to the French arms. Tournay, Nieuport, Oſtend, and Bruges ſurrendered to Labourdonnaye and Miranda, and the conqueſt of Flanders was achieved without firing a ſingle muſket. Battle of Jemappe.

Dumouriez entered Mons, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants, and after a ſlight ſkirmiſh at the village of Anderlecht, entered Bruſſels, amidſt the acclamations of the people. Having iſſued orders for the ſiege of Antwerp, he left Bruſſels, and encamped at Cortenbergue, intending to eſtabliſh manufactories of arms at Mechlin. The Auſtrians occupied the heights of Cumptich, where he determined to attack them, which he did with ſucceſs. The conflict was long and obſtinate, but in the end favourable to the French, who encamped in the place previouſly taken by the enemy on the field of battle, and eſtabliſhed their head-quarters at Tirlemont, from which place the battle takes its name. After ſtaying at this place four days the General encamped at St. Tron. He came up with the Imperialiſts, who made a very fine retreat, near Liege, and, after a ſmart partial engagement near Varoux, entered the city of Liege. Miranda having taken Antwerp, and Namur having ſurrendered to Valence, the conqueſt of the Low Countries, except the duchy of Luxembourg and the little town of Heure, was completed in a month. Dumouriez was now deſirous to take Maeſtricht, but was oppoſed and forbid by the miniſters; he therefore finiſhed the campaign by the capture of Aix-la-Chapelle, which he entered after a vigorous oppoſition from the Imperialiſts, and, being in the utmoſt diſtreſs for proviſions, eſtabliſhed there his winter-quarters.

7th. Enters Mons.

14th. Bruſſels.

19th. 22d. Battle of Tirlemont.

28th. Enters Liege.

8th Dec. Takes Aix-la-Chapelle.

During

Rapacity of the French.

During the progreſs of this ſucceſsful campaign, the people invaded were plundered with the moſt profligate rapacity. The proclamation was totally diſregarded; no diſtinction was made between the clergy and laity; the churches and the banks were equally obliged to contribute, and the goods in warehouſes were no more ſacred than the cattle in the fields. Sometimes the pretence was a loan, at others a contribution; the ſoldiers were furniſhed with aſſignats, which they forced the ſhopkeepers to take at par, and even to give change in money; the Jacobin commiſſioners enriched themſelves without reſtraint, and Dumouriez is charged with having gratified his avarice by an enormous booty, an accuſation againſt which he awkwardly defends himſelf[d].

Dumouriez goes to Paris.

Meanwhile the affairs of his faction were coming to a criſis. Dumouriez had been aſſiduous in confirming his own influence, in diſmiſſing or removing ſuch officers as he could not manage, and in promoting or creating ſuch as he thought would aſſiſt in his views. He had been particularly attentive to the duke de Chartres, who was called after his father, Egalité, and endeavoured to diſplay him as the only hope of France. The trial of the king was proceeding amidſt doubts, jealouſies, and apprehenſions. The party who wiſhed his death were not ſecure of a majority in the convention, and had every reaſon to fear an inſurrection of the people. The Gironde, ſeeing Orleans in the hands of their enemies, and deriving no hope from him, regardleſs of the charge of inconſiſtency, became deſirous to
Jan. 1793. ſave the king. Under theſe circumſtances, Dumouriez left the army and repaired to Paris. It is ſaid that he had contrived to get twenty thouſand of his men ſcattered about the city, whom he could

[d] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 339.

have

have aſſembled at pleaſure[e]. This report derives ſome confirmation from his own remark, that at this period vaſt numbers of his ſoldiers deſerted, ſome repaired to Paris, and others amuſed themſelves in the great towns of Flanders.

It is, however, more probable, that all thoſe who were in Paris were abſolutely under his command, ſince he admits, that if the Convention had conceded certain points which he inſiſted on in four memorials, he could have ſurrounded himſelf with a number of officers and ſoldiers who were come to Paris, and would have had a party ſufficiently powerful to oppoſe the Jacobins, and the *Fédérés* by whom they were ſupported[f].

Conduct during the King's trial.

The firſt days of his reſidence at Paris were paſſed, as he pretends, in his chamber, compoſing four memorials relative to the public ſervice, which, with a letter, were tranſmitted to the aſſembly, and by them referred to a committee. His preciſe views are abſolutely undeterminable. He pretends to have felt the greateſt tenderneſs for his unfortunate ſovereign, yet he took no effectual ſtep in his favour, either by force or intreaty. By his own account it appears, that his efforts were confined to paltry and inconſiſtent attempts to perſuade the different factions that it was their intereſt to ſave the king; to ſolitary meditations and to unavailing dialogues with ſhopkeepers and private individuals. Yet he does not pretend to aſſert that he offered to cooperate with any of them, or propoſed any reaſonable project for intimidating thoſe who ſought the king's life with ſuch inſatiate ferocity. He pretends that he imparted his opinions to Robeſpierre, yet he

[e] Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 21. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 232.

[f] Memoires du General Dumouriez, par lui même, année 1793, Partie i. p. 45. From this publication, the ſubſequent events of the life of Dumouriez, for which no other authority is given, are derived.

did

did not attempt to conciliate the Mountain faction; he quarrelled with Dubois de Crancé, Marat was ſtill his implacable enemy, and Robeſpierre was deſirous to have him arreſted[g]. He is accuſed of having maintained a conſtant correſpondence with Orleans in private, during his ſtay, which is not improbable[h]. Poſſibly, he meditated the means of accompliſhing the ſchemes of that worthleſs wretch, and at the ſame time detaching him from the Mountain party; or perhaps he aimed at his own perſonal aggrandizement alone, and in the claſh of factions hoped to advance himſelf. He was, however, a tranquil ſpectator of the king's execution, and enforced all the decrees which tended to repreſs the effects of diſapprobation in the ſoldiery[i].

Jan. 1793. Negotiations.

On his return to the army, Dumouriez found that general Clairfait had taken the moſt judicious meaſures to inſure the ſucceſs of the enſuing campaign, and that France was threatened with additional enemies. He had previouſly endeavoured to obtain a miſſion to England, but had failed, and now attempted to negotiate with England and Holland through the medium of Lord Auckland, and of the Grand Penſionary, but without ſucceſs, and moſt probably without ſincerity, as he was undoubtedly apprized of the unalterable reſolution of the ruling powers at Paris to engage in hoſtilities, which they had never deſired to avoid, and in which they ſpeedily embarked.

17th Feb. Campaign begun.

Dumouriez aſſembled his troops in the vicinity of Antwerp, where he publiſhed an addreſs to the Batavians full of invectives againſt the Stadtholder. He left Miranda to carry on the ſiege of Maeſtricht, but with inſtructions not to preſs it till Valence ſhould arrive from Paris, who was to take the com-

[g] Garat's Memoirs, p. 74.
[h] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 232.
[i] Dumouriez pretends that at this period he was confined to his chamber by illneſs.

mand

mand of the army, and the glory of the ſiege. Dumouriez captured Breda and Klundert, and diſpatched Berneron to attack Williamſtadt, and d'Arçon to Gertruydenberg, both which places ſurrendered. The ſiege of Maeſtricht was preſſed with great vigour, when general Clairfayt, having croſſed the Roer in the night, attacked the French poſts, and compelled them to fall back to Alderhoven. From this period the French continued to retreat till the battle of Neerwinden, in which Dumouriez was firſt defeated, and which finally decided the fate of the campaign. 23d, 26th. 4th Mar. 18th.

The conduct of Dumouriez at this period betrays great confuſion and indiſtinctneſs of projects. He appears to have had the intereſt of his country in view till the failure of the undefined project for the 10th of March in Paris, in which he was ſuppoſed to have been principally conſulted, as Briſſot obſerves, that juſt before that period Marat ceaſed to libel, and Robeſpierre began to praiſe him [k]. From that time, however, if his conduct was influenced by treachery, his treachery began. He entered into a treaty with the Auſtrian generals, and announced his intention of marching to Paris to reform the government. But in this he was leſs cautious than even la Fayette; he had not gained the concurrence of all the generals; on the contrary, Miranda was his avowed enemy, and in the habit of tranſmitting complaints againſt him. Valence, Egalité, and Miackzinſki alone were to be depended on. He had ſo little diſcernment as to rely implicitly on the attachment of his ſoldiers; he did not perceive that his ſucceſs was idolized and not his perſon; or that thoſe who would have followed him through every danger in the path of victory and glory, would deſert him in that of adverſity and diſgrace. This temerity on his part well juſtifies the Conduct of Dumouriez.

[k] Briſſot à ſes Commettans, p. 117.

ſarcaſm of Robeſpierre, who termed him a quack hero[l], and the cenſure of Montjoye, who compares him to a hero of romance[m].

His converſation with the commiſſioners.

Meanwhile he had tranſmitted numerous remonſtrances to Paris, that his army was reduced by the negligence or ſuſpicion of Pache, the war-miniſter, to the moſt wretched ſtate of diſtreſs. Marat renewed his invectives againſt Dumouriez, and aſſumed the credit of a prophet, for having foretold that he would abſcond like la Fayette. The Jacobins, on the news of his ill ſucceſs, demanded his

28th Mar. head. He had now almoſt evacuated the Low-Countries, and was met at Tournay by madame Sillery, and the wife of young Egalité, who came to aid his deſigns, and partake of his triumph. The commiſſioners of the executive power found him in company with madame Sillery, young Egalité, and Valence: they had a long and violent altercation, in which Dumouriez expreſſed his opinion that the Jacobins would ruin France, and intimated his determination to ſave it, though they ſhould call him a Cæſar, a Cromwell, or a Monk. He declared loudly for a king, but profeſſed that it was of little conſequence to France whether it was a James, a *Louis*, or a PHILIP. He refuſed to communicate his plan of counter-revolution, but announced an intention to conquer Belgium for himſelf, and to reign there under the protection of the Houſe of Auſtria[n].

29th. Ordered to the bar.

Before this converſation was reported to the convention, a decree had paſſed ordering him to the bar; and Bournonville and four commiſſioners were ſent to arreſt him at the head of the army, and convey him to Paris. They halted at Liſle, and diſpatched a ſummons to him to appear in that city to

[l] Garat's Memoirs, p. 74.
[m] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 247.
[n] Cambaceres' Report to the Convention. See Debates, April 1.

anſwer

anſwer the charges againſt him. He anſwered, that he could not leave the army, and that he valued his head too much to ſubmit it to an arbitrary tribunal. The commiſſioners proceeded to St. Amand, where his head-quarters were then eſtabliſhed, and being admitted to his preſence, explained the object of their miſſion, and endeavoured to perſuade him to obedience. A long conference took place, in which he attempted to vindicate his own conduct, and to induce them to judge favorably of him. At length, finding that he made no impreſſion, he exclaimed, "It is time to put an end to this;" and ordered the commiſſioners to be ſeized, and ſent to the prince de Cobourg as hoſtages for the royal family.

2d April. Arreſts the commiſſioners.

He paſſed that night in compoſing an addreſs to the army, and other papers. The addreſs to the army he delivered the next day at the camp, and it produced ſome favorable appearances. He then returned to St. Amand, and harangued the corps of artillery, who alſo appeared ſatisfied; and, to teſtify his confidence in them, he ſlept there. The next morning, Dumouriez left his friend Thouvenot at St. Amand, and departed for Condé. Within half a league of that fortreſs he was met by a meſſenger from general Neuilly, who adviſed him not to approach, as the garriſon was in a ſtate of the utmoſt fermentation. He had juſt before met with a column of volunteers marching towards Condé, who, however, made no attempt againſt him; but when they ſaw him accoſted by Neuilly's meſſenger, they cried, "Stop, ſtop!" and immediately commenced a purſuit. He mounted a horſe belonging to a ſervant of Chartres, and eſcaped, through a dreadful diſcharge of muſketry, along the Scheldt, which he croſſed, and reached a place called Wikers on the Imperial territory. From this place he continued his route to Bury on foot, where he ſpent

3d. Further proceedings.

4th.

the night in digeſting the proclamation of the prince de Cobourg, which appeared the next day, together with his own addreſs to the French nation. The proclamation is conceived in the moſt manly, liberal, and conciliating terms; but neither that or
5th. the addreſs produced any effect. At day-break, Dumouriez, eſcorted by fifty Imperial dragoons, proceeded to the advanced guard of the camp of Maulde. He harangued the troops; but though there was no open oppoſition, he obſerved ſome indications of that ſpirit, and ſeveral groupes aſſembled. He then repaired to St. Amand, but, as he was entering the city, received intelligence that the corps of artillery had during the night riſen on their general, and were marching towards Valenciennes. Alarmed at this intelligence, he reſolved to ſecure his retreat; and, having ſeized the military cheſt, made his eſcape, accompanied by general and colonel Thouvenot, Chartres, Colonel Montjoye, the Fernigs, madame Sillery, and a few other perſons of ſome diſtinction, and attended by 700 horſe, and 800 foot. The military cheſt was recaptured by the French. Thus ended, in little more than a year after his nomination to the miniſtry, the eventful career of this extraordinary man. He paſſed through all the ſtages of celebrity and diſgrace with ſuch rapidity, that he may juſtly be termed "a meteor, which did but blaze, and rove, and "die."

Its conſequences. An event ſo momentous as the defection of Dumouriez neceſſarily excited great ſpeculations and a conſiderable ferment in Paris. Each of the contending factions endeavoured to make uſe of it againſt their opponents. When the report of Cambaceres was read, an attempt was made to implicate Danton, who however diſengaged himſelf with great dexterity, and rolled back the accuſation on the Briſſotines. As the Mountain was at that time in great

great eſteem, the attempt was ſucceſsful; and though Danton was known to be inimical to the Briſſotines, the calumnies ſpread abroad accelerated their ruin, and facilitated the events of the 31ſt of May [o].

The Emperor conferred on Dumouriez the rank of feld-zeugmeiſter, or general of artillery, but never employed him. After his retreat, he publiſhed ſeveral addreſſes to the French nation, which were never noticed. The convention ſet a price on his head, and offered a reward of an hundred thouſand crowns (12,500*l.*) and a full reſtoration of property to any emigrant who ſhould deſtroy him. He wiſhed to take refuge in Switzerland, but was forbid to enter the country; he then went to Stutgard, and craved an audience of the duke of Wirtemberg, but was commanded to quit his territories. From that place he went to Margentheim in Franconia, profeſſing his intention to live in ſolitude and write hiſtory; but he ſoon returned to Bruſſels, and publiſhed a proclamation to the French nation, and another to the convention [p]. Dumouriez a wanderer.

Foiled in every attempt to appear advantageouſly on the continent, he reſolved to viſit England; and for that purpoſe obtained a paſſport under a feigned name and character, that of Peralta, an Italian merchant. On his arrival in London, he wrote to lord Grenville, ſoliciting, in abject terms, leave to remain near London till the end of the Revolution. A polite anſwer was returned, in which Dumouriez was informed, that his continuance in England could not be permitted. He ſtaid only one day in London, during which he was viſited by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction. After a ſtay of a few days at Dover, where he maintained the moſt cautious pri- 20th June. Arrives in England. 26th.

[o] Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 428. Miſs Williams's Letters in 1793, vol. i. p. 67. Garat's Memoirs, p. 214.
[p] Dumouriez Unmaſked, p. 87.

vacy, he returned to the continent, and landed at Oſtend.

His writings. Since that period he has obtained no notice, except as a literary character. He has produced ſome pamphlets, among the beſt of which is one intitled *Coup-d'Oeil politique ſur l'Avenir de la France.* His great work, "The Hiſtory of his own Life," is written with much eloquence, and conſiderable art; it is a laborious defence of very indirect and ſiniſter conduct. The ſkill with which he diſplays the characters of others, compenſates in a great meaſure for his want of truth, modeſty, and ſincerity with reſpect to his own. He has recently publiſhed a Speculative Sketch of Europe, in which he has diſplayed, as uſual, a conſiderable ſhare of information, a great verſatility of principle, and an extraordinary temerity in hazarding predictions and ſuggeſting expedients.

His retreat. He now lives at or near Altona. His affectation of royaliſm has done him no ſervice with thoſe whom ſuch a profeſſion was intended to conciliate; and his own countrymen, in every revolution of public opinion, have contemned the man who relieved them from deſpair and certain ſubjugation, who firſt gave energy to their conduct, and inſured the preponderancy of their military power.

Perſon and manners. In perſon, Dumouriez is below the middle ſize, but perfectly well formed, robuſt, and capable of great exertion. His complexion is brown, his features animated, his eyes dark [q]. He poſſeſſes a great ſhare of eloquence and talent of perſuaſion, and writes better than he ſpeaks [r]. While he is delivering an impreſſive ſentence, his head and arms are agitated, and he often riſes on the point of his

[q] Dumouriez Unmaſked, p. 98. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 112. Reſidence in France, vol. i. p. 55.

[r] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 69.

toe.

toe[s]. He has had the addreſs to attach to himſelf many of the fair ſex, though madame Roland was of opinion, that he was not calculated to ſucceed with thoſe whom a tender intercourſe might ſeduce[t].

[s] Dumouriez Unmaſked, p. 98.
[t] Appeal, vol. i. p. 69.

P. F. N. FABRE D'EGLANTINE.

His ſituation.

BEFORE the revolution d'Eglantine was a poet and player [u], and much in debt. His reſidence was a garret, and his whole property conſiſted in the ſhabby furniture of his apartment, which it was one of his ſingularities never afterwards to part with [x]. He wrote a comedy in three acts, in verſe, called *Le Collateral, ou l'Amour et l'Intérêt*, which was

26th May, 1789. repreſented at the *Théâtre de Monſieur*, but was not ſucceſsful. According to the criticiſm of M. de la Harpe, and the outline he has drawn of the plot, ſentiments, and language, it did not deſerve ſucceſs [y].

22d Feb. 1790. His various writings.

The revolution did not immediately confer on Fabre either wealth or diſtinction; he continued his literary labours, and produced another comedy called *Philinte*, which was alſo in verſe, and in five acts. This piece, the principal character of which is taken from Moliere, and intended as a continuation of the Miſanthrope, is much praiſed. La Harpe commends it as a judicious and ſpirited work. The plot is ſerious, and where the author has deviated from his model, he has done it with genius and judgment [z].

28th Jan. 1791. His next production was a comedy in verſe, in two acts, called *Le Convaleſcent de Qualité, ou l'Ariſtocrate*, in which, as may be expected from the title,

[u] Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 266.

[x] Briſſot à ſes Commettans, p. 135. Tableau des Priſons ſous Robeſpierre.

[y] Mercure François Litteraire du 26 Mai 1792, p. 90.

[z] Ibid. du 16 Juillet 1791, p. 90. See alſo Miſs Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 26. Conſpiracy of Robeſpierre, p. 99.

all the faults of the old government, all the prejudices and foibles reſulting from the pride of birth, are virulently attacked [a]. At the ſame time he produced another in five acts, called *L'Intrigue epiſtolaire*, which was much applauded, and had conſiderable ſucceſs [b]. Sept. 1791.

But the dramatic muſe, however aſſiduouſly or ſucceſsfully cultivated, was not able in the tumult of revolution to ſecure to her votary either fame or profit. Fabre had other qualities which promiſed to facilitate his progreſs in the paths of wealth and political renown. The ſpirit of intrigue which he diſplayed on the theatre, was his own characteriſtic in life [c]. He was ſupple, daſtardly, inſinuating, cunning, laborious; he echoed the ſentiments and flattered the paſſions of his ſuperiors, careful in avoiding offence, and careful to obtain the eſteem of all [d]. With theſe requiſites he commenced flatterer of the duke of Orleans, and attached himſelf perſonally to Danton. Danton introduced him to madame Roland's cabinet parties, and recommended him to conduct, jointly with Camille Deſmoulins and Robert, a poſted paper called *Compte rendu au Peuple Souverain*. This publication was commenced and carried on for a ſhort time, but the parties having received the ſum propoſed, it was diſcontinued [e]. His character.

Danton made him one of his ſecretaries; in which ſituation he is ſuppoſed to have acquired great riches previous to, and during the maſſacres of the priſoners. He was alſo one of the council-general of the commune [f], and among the firſt who divided with Danton, and joined Robeſpierre's party againſt 2d Sept. 1792. He comes ſuddenly rich.

[a] Mercure François Litteraire du 17 Septembre 1791, p. 89.
[b] Ibid. p. 105.
[c] Miſs Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 26.
[d] See St. Juſt's Report of 31ſt March 1794.
[e] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 86. 89.
[f] See Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 81. 213. 482.

Roland.

Roland[g]. He now lived in the *Rue du Théâtre Français* in a ſtyle of elegance and luxury, and acknowledged himſelf to be worth twelve thouſand livres (525*l.*) a-year[h]. As he poſſeſſed no viſible means of attaining ſuch a fortune, it was juſtly attributed to his having ſhared in the plunder of the murdered captives, or perhaps of the jewel-office[i].

Member of the convention.

Having diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the Jacobin club as a republican, and by his exertions againſt la Fayette[k], he was, by Danton's influence, elected member of the convention for Paris. During ten months he was not conſpicuous. He voted with the reſt of his party on the trial of the king, and recommended death in four-and-twenty hours[l]. He was marked as a conſtant opponent of Roland[m]; but does not appear to have aſſiſted actively in the expulſion of the Briſſotines. He was a member of the committee of public ſafety, and of the committee of public inſtruction. At the beginning of the war with England, he moved that an Addreſs to the Britiſh nation, againſt their government, ſhould be publiſhed; and that the perſons and property of Engliſhmen reſiding in France, and ſubmitting to the laws, ſhould be defended and protected: but, in the ſame year, he propoſed the meaſure of arreſting all the Engliſh, and other ſubjects of the king of England, then in the Republic[n].

1ſt Feb. 1793.

9th Oct.

Projects in finance. 28th Jan.

Fabre was ambitious to be eſteemed a good œconomiſt and financier; he preſented to the Convention a plan, of conſiderable length, for ſupplying the army with neceſſaries, and preventing frauds: it ſeems well adapted to a revolutionary government,

[g] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 93.
[h] Briſſot à ſes Commettans, p. 135. Conſpiracy of Robeſpierre, p. 228.
[i] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 110.
[k] Conſpiracy of Robeſpierre, p. 45. Political State of Europe, vol. ii. p. 174.
[l] Debates.
[m] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 239. [n] Debates.

but

but totally inapplicable to a regular ſyſtem[o]. He alſo made a report on the diſcredit of aſſignats; but it ſurpaſſed his talents to prevent that calamity[p]. 1ſt Aug.

He was an active member of the club of Cordeliers[q], and ſhewed himſelf worthy of their eſteem by joining earneſtly in all their labours for the extirpation of religion. One principal effort towards this was the formation of a new calendar, of which d'Eglantine was the author, and which took place from the 22d of September. The obvious aim of this invention was, by a new diviſion of the year, by the abolition of weeks, by the alteration of months, and by giving new names to the days, to obliterate every trace of Sundays, Saints' days, holidays, and chriſtian feſtivals. The year was divided into twelve equal months of thirty days, which were divided into decades, or periods of ten days; each of theſe months had a new name; ſome referring to the produce of the earth or courſe of agricultural employment; as *Vendimiaire*, for vintage; *Meſſidor*, for harveſt; *Fructidor*, for fruit; *Floreal*, for flowers; others to the weather; as *Brumaire*, for fogs; *Niveſe*, for ſnow, &c. Beſides the name allotted to each day, denoting its ordinal ſtation in the decade; as *Primidi*, *Duodi*, &c. each had another appellative, derived from the implements of huſbandry, the produce of the earth, or the animal creation; as *Apple*, *Beet-root*, *Gooſe*, *Plough*, *Roller*. But as theſe twelve months only occupied three hundred and ſixty days, the remaining five in the common year, and ſix in the leap year, were patched on at the end, and denominated *Sanſculotides!* The tenth 5th Oct. Invents the new calendar.

[o] See his Speech at length. Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. ii. p. 268.

[p] Debates.

[q] Louvet's Narrative, p. 63.

[r] This national abſurdity was not at firſt preſented complete; the committee gave for numeral names of days *Primi*, *Bini*, *Triſi*, &c. but the galleries hiſſed this nurſery nonſenſe, and the preſent *gypſy jargon* was adopted in its ſtead. See Debates, 18th Oct.

day,

day, or end of every decade, was conſidered a day of feſtival, and devoted to ſome of the virtues, relations, or accidents of life. This is the whole of that change which an Engliſh lady extols as "ſo *philoſophical*, and ſo pleaſant to the imagination, that, "amidſt the ſanguinary meaſures of thoſe days, it "ſeemed to the oppreſſed heart what a ſolitary ſpot of "freſh verdure appears to the eye amidſt the craggineſs of louring rocks, or the gloom of ſavage deſerts[t]." It is impoſſible to aſcertain from what ſources the oppreſſed heart may derive imaginary relief, but philoſophy does not delight in vain ſhew or unneceſſary alteration; it does not affect a ſingularity attended with no poſſible uſe, or invade the eſtabliſhed forms of human life, without the pretence of amelioration, the promiſe of either pleaſure or profit; it does not lend its aid to conſecrate the prevailing folly of the day, at the expence of cuſtom, much leſs of reaſon; it judges ſlowly, and avoids the levity of premature adoption; in a word, philoſophy has nothing to do with *ſanſculotides*, *decades*, beet-roots, rollers, or geeſe[t].

Suppoſed aſſiſtant of Robeſpierre.

It has been aſſerted that Fabre materially aſſiſted Robeſpierre in the compoſition of his ſpeeches and writings; the ſame is ſaid of Camille Deſmoulins[u]; but theſe accounts muſt be received with caution. They are improbable, becauſe the ſtyle of Deſmoulins was extremely careleſs; and d'Eglantine required a judicious friend to reform his own diction: the works of Robeſpierre are ſuperior in wit, ſentiment, and language, to the writings of his ſuppoſed inſtructors. The ſtyle in which Fabre lived, and the open profligacy with which he ſold his patronage[x], may perhaps have given riſe to this report; but it was

[s] Miſs Williams. See her Letters in 1794, vol. i. p. 202.
[t] See Remarks on the Calendar in Pagès, vol. ii. p. 281. Suite de l'Etat de la France, p. 38.
[u] Conſpiracy of Robeſpierre, p. 99.
[x] See Suite de l'Etat de la France, p. 70.

a part

a part of Robeſpierre's prudence not to prevent peculation in his inferior agents, that he might, at pleaſure, ſacrifice them to his revenge or convenience. Fabre was, however, expoſed to denunciations; Boileau accuſed him in the convention of having propoſed the reſtoration of royalty; but the charge was evaded by the influence of his party [y]. His ſtyle of living pointed him out to the malice of his brother Cordelier Hebert, who attacked him in his journal, called *Le Père Ducheſne*, as an enriched patriot. This offence brought Hebert to the ſcaffold; but Fabre did not long triumph over his fallen adverſary; ſoon after the execution of Hebert, he was himſelf arreſted, together with Chabot and ſeveral others, and confined, firſt in the *Luxemburg*, afterwards in the *Conciergerie* [z]. In priſon he behaved with the moſt effeminate weakneſs; his health was impaired, and he gave way to unmanly lamentations. Pride prevented his making the loſs of life the apparent topic of his regret; he therefore affected concern about a comedy in five acts, which had been ſeized and ſent to the committee of public ſafety, and of which he was apprehenſive that Billaud de Varennes would aſſume the credit [a]. At his trial he exhibited the ſame deſpondency; not even the heroiſm of Danton could animate him. In the cart he evinced the ſame feebleneſs of character, and died like a mock atheiſt, without courage to appeal to an offended Deity for mercy, without the frigid ſelf-denial which a total diſbelief of a firſt cauſe and future remuneration may impart.

1ſt April. Denounced.

16th Mar. 1794. Arreſted.

5th April. Tried and executed.

[y] Debates. [z] New Annual Regiſter for 1794. p. 352. 354.
[a] Memoires d'un Detenu, p. 76. Miſs Williams's Letters, vol. ii. p. 27.

THOMAS MAHÉ, MARQUIS DE FAVRAS.

FAVRAS was the firſt victim of popular fury who fell by the miſguided ſword of the law, who was murdered with the formality of a trial [b]. Soon after the revolution, the novelty of circumſtances, and the extreme anxiety of public ſuſpicion, gave riſe to a new ſpecies of imputed crime, called *leze nation*, or treaſon againſt the nation; and numberleſs accuſations and denunciations of plots and conſpiracies were brought forward, implicating individuals in this undefined offence. The trial of ſuch criminals not properly appertaining to the juriſdiction of any exiſting court, a new one became neceſſary, and the *Chatelet* was empowered to try offences of *leze nation*. Judges were appointed, and a committee of inquiry choſen from members of the aſſembly, to receive informations. Ample rewards were held out to informers, from one hundred to a thouſand *Louis d'ors*. As the crime was not ſubjected to any preciſe or legal definition, and the characters or ſituations of the informers never inquired into, the priſons were filled with perſons denounced on the depoſitions of ſpies, ſervants, waiters, ſoldiers, and the moſt worthleſs characters in ſociety. Many were tried and acquitted, from the total want of evidence: but this did not ſatisfy the people; they were perſuaded that there had

[b] The principal facts in the following narrative are taken from the Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 293 to 303. Pagès, vol. i. p. 292 to 311. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 372 to 392.

really

really exiſted a conſpiracy to carry off the king to Metz, and were anxious to ſee ſome nobleman executed as an accomplice in the plot.

M. de Favras, who is ſaid to have been called marquis merely by courteſy [c], was captain of dragoons, and firſt-lieutenant of Swiſs guards in the ſervice of Monſieur, which he quitted in 1775. He married a princeſs of Anhalt Schaamburg; and being endowed by nature with an enterpriſing genius, undertook to raiſe a regiment for the party in Holland then in oppoſition to the Stadtholder; and to fulfil this plan, entered into a contract with a procurer of recruits, named Tourcaty; but the troubles in that country being ſuppreſſed by the interpoſition of the king of Pruſſia, the project was abandoned. He afterwards turned his attention to finance, and propoſed a ſcheme for liquidating the national debt; but while this ſubject was under conſideration, the diſturbances taking place in Brabant, he exerted himſelf on behalf of the inſurgents. His ſituation in life. 1785.

In the courſe of the French revolution, he diſplayed a decided attachment to the royal intereſt: he reſumed the white cockade, and was ſolicitous to obtain from the miniſter the means of repelling by force the aſſailants of the palace at Verſailles. This diſpoſition pointed him out to the rancour of the inſurgents, and there is reaſon to believe that a moſt iniquitous ſubornation was employed againſt him. His attachment to the king. 5th Oct. 1789.

Tourcaty, and another of the ſame profeſſion named Morel, both men of infamous character, appeared before the committee of inquiry, and depoſed that Favras had communicated to them a plan to effect a counter-revolution, and employed them to raiſe men for the purpoſe. His commu- 25th Dec. 1789. Arreſted.

[c] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 444.

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nication was ſtated to be, that there was at Verſailles a corps of twelve hundred horſe, who were to enter Paris in three diviſions, to join a detachment of the Swiſs guards, and of the king's guards, and many conſpirators from the provinces, who were to be at Paris at the ſame time, to aſſaſſinate Necker, la Fayette, and Bailly, and carry off the king to Peronne, where twenty thouſand troops would hoiſt the ſtandard of counter-revolution. That Favras, under pretence of taking a part in the troubles of Brabant, was in treaty for twenty thouſand Swiſs, twelve thouſand Germans, and twelve thouſand Sardinian ſoldiers, who, joining the regiments which remained faithful to the king, and the recruits to be raiſed, would form an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, which ſhould march to Paris and diſſolve the national aſſembly. All the fund he poſſeſſed to carry this extenſive ſcheme into execution, according to the depoſition of the accuſers, was a hundred *Louis d ors*, which he had borrowed from a nobleman. This ridiculous accuſation, the authors of which deſerved the pillory, was deemed a ſufficient ground for the apprehenſion of the unfortunate marquis, who was the ſame day taken up and committed to the Abbaye, and from thence afterwards removed to the priſon of the Chatelet.

Conduct of Monſieur.

Great pains were taken to implicate Monſieur in the charge; but on hearing the rumour, he went to the *Hotel-de-ville*, and declared to the commune that he had not even ſeen Favras ſince 1775, when he quitted the Swiſs guards: he acknowledged, that the new order of things having impeded his receipts of money, and not chooſing to apply to the public treaſury, he was endeavouring to raiſe a ſum of two millions of livres (87,500 *l.*); that Favras had been recommended to him as a proper perſon to negotiate the ſupply; that he had accordingly entruſted the affair

affair to his management, and underſtood he was in treaty with Chomel and Sertorius, bankers, for the money; but had not even ſeen him on the buſineſs. The candour and readineſs of this explanation removed all ſuſpicion from the prince, and ought to have operated in diſcrediting all teſtimony of the conſpiracy; but that was not the caſe.

When Favras was put on his trial, a blood-thirſty mob endeavoured by clamour to influence the proceedings; but they were reſtrained by the exertions of la Fayette. It is not eaſy to repreſent a more intereſting figure than that of the culprit thus arraigned. He had paſſed the brilliancy of youth, without having declined into the evening of his days; he was forty-ſix years old; his ſtature was exalted, his figure elegantly proportioned, and his phyſiognomy noble and prepoſſeſſing; he had large black eyes, an olive complexion, an aquiline noſe; his hair was mixed with white, indicating the approach of age, but not yet abſolutely grey: he was modeſt, reſerved, and thoughtful, poſſeſſed a cultivated mind, and a great ſhare of eloquence. He preſerved the utmoſt calmneſs, firmneſs, and decorum, in the courſe of his defence. He repreſented, with the force of truth, the improbability that a man without rank, fortune, ſupport, or popularity, with an army of two recruiters, and an exchequer of a hundred *Louis d'ors*, ſhould become the leader of an inſurrection. He croſs-examined the two informers in a manner which expoſed them to the moſt palpable contradictions. A freſh witneſs was called, Chomel the banker; who ſtated, that the priſoner had talked to him of a plan to aſſemble an army on the frontier of the Netherlands, under pretence of taking a part in the troubles, and with it to invade France, to reſtore the parliaments, and all the different branches of the old government. This evidence (admitting its truth, which is extremely doubtful)

9th Feb. 1790. Trial of Favras.

doubtful) amounted to no more than a converſation relating to a project which a ſpeculative man might be ſuppoſed, in a time of free political diſcuſſion, to deſcant on, without the leaſt conſideration of the means of executing it, and without even a wiſh or thought tending to its ſucceſs. The priſoner denied the charge, and required leave to call exculpatory evidence, which was refuſed; in conſequence of which he entered a forcible proteſt on the regiſters againſt this barbarous and unjuſt refuſal. It is not pretended, even by democratic writers, that the evidence tendered was ſufficient to warrant the condemnation of Favras[d]: the apology for the judges muſt conſign them to eternal infamy; they ſay the people required a victim, and the judges were forced to indulge their ſanguinary diſpoſition. Judges, born and educated in a land of freedom, or worthy to live in one, would have acted differently: "*Fiat* "*juſtitia, ruat Cœlum,*" would have burſt ſpontaneouſly from their hearts, and iſſued indignantly from their lips. The judges in his caſe however pronounced the ſentence of death, and the *amende honorable*, an ignominious penance which precedes it.

Condemnation.

Fortitude.

Thoſe who were eye-witneſſes of his conduct from the time of his condemnation to that of his execution, agree that greater firmneſs, vigour of mind, and genuine heroiſm were never diſplayed. He requeſted the aſſiſtance of the abbé Boſſu, curate of Saint Paul's, to perform the laſt offices of religion, after which he came forth with ſerenity and dignified cheerfulneſs. At three o'clock in the morning on the day when his ſentence was to be executed, he appeared dreſſed with care and a conſiderable ſhare of elegance. A penitentiary ſhirt

19th Feb. Execution.

[d] See Rabaud's Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 176. Impartial Hiſtory, ubi ſupra. Pagès, vol. ii. p. 355. where the author compares him to Socrates.

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was, agreeably to the form of the *amende honorable*, put over his clothes: he was placed in a cart, his head and feet bare, a lighted torch by his ſide; on his back and breaſt were placed labels, inſcribed, *Conſpirator againſt the ſtate.* When he arrived at the church of Nôtre Dame, he took the order for his condemnation from the clerk, and reading it with an unaltered countenance, lifted up his eyes to heaven, proteſted his innocence, and prayed for his murderers. He was then conducted to the *Hotel de Ville*, where he dictated a long, energetic, and eloquent declaration of his innocence, and explanation of his conduct: he diſclaimed every inclination to ſubvert the new order of things; but profeſſed his reſolution to die faithful to the ſentiment which had always animated him, *loyalty to his ſovereign.*

At eight o'clock he recommenced his progreſs towards the place of execution. The ſtreets were ſtrongly guarded. The impreſſion made by his dignified and heroic deportment is indeſcribable. A profound ſilence was generally obſerved, and the ſufferer appeared more unconcerned than any of the ſpectators. When he arrived at the foot of the ſcaffold, the good abbé Boſſu, in taking leave of his penitent, fainted in his arms: their parts were now reverſed, the ghoſtly comforter gave way to the weakneſs of humanity, and received from the party condemned to death the conſolations and encouragements drawn from the ſacred ſtores of Revelation. When he was on the top of the ladder, he ſaid with a loud voice; "Citizens, I die inno-"cent; pray, pray for me to the God of mercy."—The whole multitude preſerved an awful ſilence; the executioner, melting into tears, ſeemed to forget his office, till Favras required him to do his duty, which he performed with manifeſt reluctance. After hanging the uſual time, the body was delivered to his friends. The intereſt excited by his deportment, and the injuſtice of his ſentence, gave

riſe to an unfounded report that his life was ſaved by means of braces paſſed under his arms, which was often repeated in converſation and in print[*].

This murder, performed under colour of law, but in contempt of all ſound rules of juriſprudence and reaſon, firſt opened the way for thoſe neglects of the eſtabliſhed forms of inculpation and evidence, which facilitated the mock trial of the king, and ſubjected the country to all the horrors of the revolutionary tribunal.

[*] Hiſtory of the Briſſotines by Camille Deſmoulins, p. 65.

MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

THE family of la Fayette is of great antiquity in Auvergne, and has produced ſeveral eminent men. It is traced back to the thirteenth century. The family name was originally MOTIER, but the fourth generation aſſumed the addition of la Fayette, which was borne by all their deſcendants [f]. Family.

La Fayette was heir to a large eſtate, and increaſed his property and influence by marrying a lady of the illuſtrious houſe of Noailles [g]. At an early period of his life, the American revolution commenced, and he engaged as a volunteer in the cauſe of the coloniſts. His conduct evinced ſo much ardour, that it contributed greatly to inflame the minds of the French, and induce the cabinet of Verſailles to enter into hoſtilities againſt England [h]. Marries. Serves in America.

At the termination of the war la Fayette returned to Paris [i], with a great reputation, thoroughly imbued with revolutionary principles, and partial to republican government. His ſpeech to congreſs, at taking his final departure, contained ſuch expreſſions, that de Vergennes would never conſent to its being inſerted in the French gazette [k]. In Paris Returns to Paris.

[f] Dictionnaire de la Nobleſſe, par M. de la Chenaye Deſbois.
[g] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 16.
[h] Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 21.
[i] As it is not my intention to touch on the American war, I have omitted particularizing the exploits of la Fayette.
[k] Pain's Rights of Man, Part I. p. 16. I have quoted Pain as an authority in the life of la Fayette only. As Pain boaſts of an intimate acquaintance with him, I have conſidered his information as entitled to ſome credit in this ſingle inſtance.

la Fayette kept an open houſe, which was frequented by all thoſe who had ſerved in America. His ample fortune inſured the attendance of numerous ſycophants, who flattered his vanity by the moſt exaggerated encomiums; and thoſe who had contributed to the eſtabliſhment of American independence, were animated by the rehearſal of their exploits and the diſcuſſion of their principles, to deſire a change of circumſtances in France, which might again call forth their exertions, and afford an opportunity of diſplaying the advantages they had derived from experience [l].

Member of political clubs.

When political clubs began to be formed in France, la Fayette was one of their moſt active ſupporters. He was a member of the ſociety of *amis des noirs* [m], and continued ſo firmly attached to their cauſe, that, in the height of rebellion, the negroes made *vive la Fayette* the burden of their favourite ſong [n]. He was alſo a member of the regulating committee of a political lodge of Philalethes in Paris, together with Condorcet, Orleans, and many other perſons afterwards conſpicuous in the revolution [o].

1787. Conduct in the notables.

In the aſſembly of notables, convoked by Calonne, la Fayette was one of the ſection over which the count d'Artois preſided, and which the public diſtinguiſhed by the name of *le comité des Francs* [p]. As he was a violent partiſan of Necker, he greatly increaſed his popularity by a ſpirited oppoſition to Calonne, and by reading a very ſtrenuous memorial againſt the conduct of that miniſter [q]. After the expulſion of Calonne, and diſſolution of the nota-

[l] Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 22. The Conduct of France towards Great Britain examined, by Miles, p. 69.
[m] Bryan Edwards's Hiſtory of St. Domingo, p. 41.
[n] Mercure François, No. du 5 Novembre 1791.
[o] Robiſon's Proofs of a Conſpiracy, p. 403. Memoires du Jacobiniſme, par Barruel, vol. ii. p. 447.
[p] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 77.
[q] Idem, p. 89. Pain's Rights of Man, Part I. p. 96.

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bles, la Fayette diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Brittany by an oppoſition to de Brienne's project of a *cour pleniere*, which induced the miniſter to diſcontinue his penſion [r].

1789. In the conſtituent aſſembly.

In the conſtituent aſſembly, la Fayette was diſtinguiſhed by his oppoſition to the court, and by the ſanction he gave to all meaſures which, by their revolutionary violence, were calculated to raiſe him in the eſtimation of the people. When the conteſt between the aſſembly and the court was at its greateſt height, when the proceedings of the factious had induced the king to order a body of troops to Paris, and the aſſembly, ſwayed by intrigue, made ſtrenuous exertions againſt the ſovereign, la Fayette propoſed his celebrated declaration of the rights of man. This compoſition, which Robeſpierre juſtly deſcribes as a collection of two or three trite adages [s], was publiſhed with an exhortation to the people, of moſt inflammatory tendency, though couched in a ſtyle of affected philanthropy [t]. When the change of miniſtry was announced, la Fayette moved that the reſponſibility of the new miniſters ſhould be decreed; a meaſure obviouſly calculated to overawe the executive government: it was however complied with, and the archbiſhop of Vienne, then preſident of the aſſembly, being old and too infirm to bear the fatigue of a long ſitting, la Fayette was appointed vice-preſident, which was the firſt nomination to that office [u].

11th July. Rights of man.

13th. Vice-preſident.

Formation of national guard.

After the capture of the Baſtille, a national guard of the citizens of Paris was formed. The command was at firſt given to the marquis de la Salle, who held it merely as a temporary truſt, to be re-

[r] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 146.

[s] Defenſeur de la Conſtitution, p. 257. n.

[t] Mrs. Wolſtoncraft's Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 174, &c. &c. This declaration of rights is ſaid to have excited envy in Mirabeau, though ſeveral others had been previouſly publiſhed.

[u] Debates. Hiſtories.

ſigned in favour of the duke of Orleans. After three days however, the duke not having teſtified any inclination to aſſume the important command reſerved for him, a new general was recommended [x]. La Fayette was then highly popular; a general prepoſſeſſion in his favour had long ſubſiſted, which was augmented by his recent conduct in the
15th July. aſſembly. He was one of the members ſent to Paris the day after the capture of the Baſtille, to allay the popular ferment, and was, on the enſuing day, nominated commandant-general of the national guard. It is aſſerted, that an accident of a very trifling nature contributed as much as any other circumſtance to occaſion this appointment. The city ſtandards, which had been ſeized by the mob on the 13th, were placed in the *Hotel de ville*, near the general's buſt, to which they ſeemed to form a kind of trophy. One of his friends took advantage of the incident to propoſe him as commander [y]. It is not eaſy to believe that ſo important a truſt was delegated from ſo trivial a motive, and without any previous arrangement. La Fayette however accepted the poſt without heſitation: he drew his ſword, and lowered the point in token of acquieſcence and gratitude [z]. The next day afforded him an opportunity of diſplaying the inſolence of power newly acquired. The king made his inauſpicious journey to Paris, and la Fayette prepared thoſe inſults which made his reception ſo mortifying and degrading, by preventing the gardes du corps from entering the city, and forbidding the national guard and the people to cry *Vive le roi* [a]! His election was confirmed by the king [b].

[x] See ORLEANS.
[y] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 409.
[z] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 75. Hiſtories.
[a] See Memoirs of the THE KING, &c. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 81.
[b] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 144.

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La Fayette ſoon experienced the pernicious effects of his own maxim, that *inſurrection is the moſt ſacred of duties*, by the diſregard with which the mob treated him in the murder of Foulon[c], for whom he inter- Exerts himſelf to ſave Foulon.

[c] The fate of FOULON, and his ſon-in-law BERTHIER is thus related by the eloquent author of an Addreſs to the Friends of the People. See p. 498. "An old man of the name of M. Foulon, a "counſellor of ſtate, was ſuppoſed to have been connected in ſome "degree with the ſhort-lived adminiſtration that ſucceeded to M. "Necker. He had not been popular formerly, and this circumſtance "rendered him more obnoxious ſtill. Nothing, however, could be "found as a matter of charge againſt him in any of the late tranſac-"tions; but it was at laſt remembered, for the purpoſes of democratic "vengeance, that under the adminiſtration of the abbé Terray (the "famous financier of Louis XV.) he had ſaid, or been reported to "ſay, that if the people would not be contented to eat bread at a cer-"tain price, they ought to have nothing but hay given them. From "this it was inferred, that had he obtained power now, he would have "reduced the people to this diet, and his death was therefore decreed! "Warned of his danger the poor old man had fled; concealing him-"ſelf in a friend's houſe at a ſmall diſtance from Paris. He was "traced by their blood hounds, and ſoon diſcovered and ſeized. He "was conducted to Paris by the mob, loaded with ſacks of hay, an "emblem of his accuſation and of his puniſhment. Having led him "to the *Hotel de Ville*, where judges were to be immediately appointed "for his trial, an immenſe crowd was in the mean time gathered "around the *Place de Greve*. It was continually increaſing; and in a "ſhort time they loudly demanded that Foulon ſhould inſtantly be "delivered over to them for execution. The *electors* of Paris came to "the multitude. They dared not to defend the innocent old man; "but they beſought the people to allow him to be fairly tried. They "ſpoke to the winds. Then M. Bailly came. He was now from pre-"ſident of the national aſſembly become mayor of Paris. His "eloquence and authority were now employed equally in vain. In "the mean time their victim heard the ſavage cries of his enemies; "thoſe howlings of murder more dreadful than death. He was "ſerene and calm. One of his guards ſaid, "You are not moved, "Sir; ſurely you are innocent."—"Guilt only," he replied, "can "be diſconcerted." At five in the afternoon, the committee of the "city election thought the people might be prevailed on (ſays the "hiſtorian whom I copy) to allow him to be carried to the priſon of "the Abbaye. A detachment of the city militia was ordered for "this purpoſe. M. de la Fayette now arrived. Even he durſt not "uſe his authority; even in the beginnings of his inglorious general-"ſhip he knew and felt he had no power; but beſides uſing intreaties, "he employed the artifice or the brutality of telling the people, that "many ſecrets regarding the machinations of the court might be diſ-"covered by detaining M. Foulon priſoner inſtead of inſtantly "murdering him; thus feeding their ſavageneſs by the hopes of "further victims, and giving truth to thoſe horrid calumnies which "were made the cauſes of crime. The old man (it was ſaid) gave "marks

interceded and exerted himſelf in vain. He felt ſo much indignation on the ſubject that he threatened

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" marks of ſatisfaction at the mention of being committed to the Abbaye. ' He will eſcape us!' cried the people, in the preſence of " all their magiſtrates, of their mayor, of the general of the new forces " of France; they raiſe a ſhout of fury, break through the guards, " ruſh into the town-houſe, drag the old man to the *lanterne*, which " had already been the inſtrument of ſo many murders. The cord " broke; another was inſtantly found. His head was then ſevered " from his body, and fixed on a pike. It was carried in proceſſion " with an handful of ſtraw thruſt into his mouth. His body was " dragged through all the ſtreets, and ſuffered every indignity. " Bailly and la Fayette ſaw this ſcene of horror, and continued to be " called mayor of Paris and general of the Pariſian army.——

" The intendant of Paris, M. Berthier, was married to this old " man's daughter. He alſo had been obliged to quit Paris; though " wholly guiltleſs of any act of oppreſſion or wrong; ſo much guilt- " leſs, that to ſtir the minds of the people, an accuſation (at whoſe " abſurdity laughter in other circumſtances could not have been re- " ſtrained) was made againſt him, of having ordered the corn to be " cut down when green! He was arreſted at Compiegne. An *elector* " of the city of Paris was ſent to bring him thither. On the road he " was frequently compelled to come out of the carriage and ſhew " himſelf to the people, who inſulted him as he went along. When " he entered Paris, the top of the carriage was taken off that he might " be fully expoſed to the view of the mob, who loaded him with " execrations and outrages. A numerous guard attended him, ac- " companied with military muſic; drums, colours, every thing that could " mark a triumph. The proceſſion was witneſſed by all Paris; every " door, window, and balcony was filled. M. Berthier ſtill maintained " the utmoſt ſerenity; tranquillity was painted on his countenance. " But the proceſſion had advanced only a little way, when the mangled " and bloody head of his father-in-law was preſented to him fixed on " a pike. They had juſt come from his murder. After this infernal " act, he was led to the tribunal; the ſeat of equity, (the hiſtorian " calls it,) and the aſylum of innocence ſo fatal to guilt. He " anſwered with manlineſs the queſtions put to him. They had his " papers, he ſaid, and theſe papers never at any time afterwards diſ- " cloſed any crime. He then mentioned that he had not for two days " ſhut his eyes, and requeſted that he might be allowed ſome place " for a little repoſe. Immediately aroſe the ſhouts of death. The " judges ſpoke of committing him priſoner to the Abbaye. He " conſented. M. Bailly harangued the people; he tells them that the " priſoner cannot be convicted but by new facts, and that the utmoſt " which could be done was to impriſon him for trial. This was moſt " glaring injuſtice and oppreſſion; and for which M. Bailly in a " free government muſt have anſwered, in legal judgment, by his " perſon and fortune. When he had done ſpeaking, the people replied " to him with their yells. The priſoner was led out. Thouſands " preſs around him, and in a moment he is dead. One of his mur- " derers

ened to reſign, but was eaſily perſuaded to retain his command [d].

La Fayette had now acquired an importance far exceeding his merits, or thoſe pretenſions which ordinary circumſtances would have enabled him to advance. His ſudden elevation inflamed his vanity to a dangerous pitch. At the head of a revolutionary rabble, he conſidered himſelf at the ſummit of glory; the leader of ſophiſts, he deemed himſelf a philoſopher; and the acclamation of the loweſt populace led him to fancy himſelf a ſecond Waſhington [e]. The character of Waſhington was a favourite object of his imitation; but he was not qualified to ſucceed in forming a parallel [f]. He is repreſented as a man of inordinate ambition, without either genius or energy; capable of meditating the profoundeſt crimes, yet deſirous of preſerving an appearance of probity [g]; affecting extraordinary ſubtilty, yet deficient in experience and underſtanding [h]. Ever inferior to the projects he had formed; tremulous and heſitating [i]; a man of half character and half talents, in whom the timid circumſpection of uncertainty was taken for modeſty; whoſe art conſiſted in obtaining credit for more abilities than he poſſeſſed, and in taking advantage of circumſtances which he could not command [k]. He is allowed to

Charac. of la Fayette.

" deters thruſt in his hand and tore out his palpitating heart. It was " a civic ſoldier. This heart, ſtill warm and beating, was carried to " the tribunal and preſented to his judges. It was then fixed on the " point of a dagger; while the body was dragged and daſhed to " pieces on the pavement, pierced through and through with pikes. " At laſt, in a tavern, his fleſh and heart minced into morſels was " ſteeped in their wine and greedily devoured. This happened in the " Rue St. Honoré."

[d] Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 191.
[e] Memoires du Jacobiniſme, par Barruel, vol. ii. p. 449.
[f] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 164. Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 25.
[g] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 104. 127.
[h] Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 86.
[i] Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 186.
[k] Mercure François, No. du 31 Août 1792.

poſſeſs

poſſeſs virtue, knowledge, and coolneſs[l]; but his principal errors originated from a want of fixed principles, an over-weening ambition, and* preſumptuous vanity, which, in the day of his proſperity and popularity, was carried to ſuch an exceſs, that he was heard to obſerve, "I have made one "revolution in America; when I have finiſhed "this in France, I will go and make a third at "Rome[m]."

Hated by Orleans.

Though Orleans had connived at, and even conſented to the nomination of la Fayette to be commandant of the national guard, yet, after his appointment, the duke ſpeedily conceived a diſguſt againſt him, which afterwards amounted to the moſt rancorous antipathy[n]. La Fayette was a ſtrenuous partiſan of Necker, whom he had received at his return to Paris with a degree of warmth highly diſpleaſing to Orleans[o]. The pains taken by la Fayette to organize the national guard, ſo as to prevent, in a certain degree, future inſurrections and murders, thwarted the views of the duke; and his ſatellites were employed to deſtroy his popularity, and render him contemptible. Marat commenced a virulent attack in his Journal, which inflamed the choler of *the hero of the two worlds* to ſuch a pitch, that he marched an army of ſix thouſand men againſt this contemptible adverſary. They blockaded all the avenues in the neighbourhood of Marat's dwelling, by pointing cannon down the ſtreets; but Danton took the little incendiary under his protection, and

[l] Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 86. La Fayette's knowledge and coolneſs may be much better appreciated by ſuch a judge as Dumouriez, than his virtue. His claim to eulogium on that ſcore is, at leaſt, doubtful.

[m] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 64.

[n] Idem, vol. ii. p. 75.

[o] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 86. Hiſtories. The Club of female politicians, of which Necker's daughter and la Fayette's wife were leading members, contributed to cement this attachment; Necker ſtill ſpeaks in the higheſt terms of his friend. See On the Revolution, vol. i. p. 358. n.

exerted

exerted himſelf with ſuch effect, that la Fayette was compelled to relinquiſh further proceedings [p]. About the ſame time, Saint Huruge, inſtigated by Orleans, made daily harangues againſt la Fayette in the garden of the Palais Royal. To repreſs theſe exertions, the general had recourſe to the following expedient: One evening at ſix o'clock, armed detachments of the national guard entered at all the doors of the garden, and ruſhed forward to diſperſe every group in which there was an orator. The awkwardneſs of their evolutions excited ſhouts of deriſion; their confuſion increaſed, till at length, on the motion of one of the orators, a general hiſs prevailed. After much difficulty the military party ſucceeded in taking St. Huruge and a baron Tinot priſoners; but the mob ſoon obtained their releaſe [q].

5th and 6th Oct. La Fayette's danger and conduct.

The prevalence of the Orleans' faction became ſo decided and obvious, that apprehenſions were entertained that la Fayette would be ſacrificed in the inſurrection of the 5th of October. When the mob of *Poiſſardes*, headed by Maillard, were departed for Verſailles, the Pariſian armed force aſſembled on the *Place de la Greve*. The *ci-devant gardes Françaiſes*, who were all incorporated with the national guard, and ſtill retained their mutinous diſpoſitions, and obedience to the agents of Orleans, inſiſted the *commune* ſhould meet, and the armed force proceed to Verſailles. La Fayette, as his duty required, ſent off diſpatches to the miniſters, informing them of the critical ſtate of affairs. While he was thus occupied, a deputation of grenadiers entered, and told him, in a ſet ſpeech, obviouſly dictated for the purpoſe, "That the government were traitors to the "country; that they would, in no caſe, uſe their "bayonets againſt women, who merely went to aſk "for bread; and that if the king was incapable of

[p] See MARAT and DANTON.

[q] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 158.

"bearing

" bearing the burden of monarchy, *they would de-*
" *poſe him, crown his ſon, and name a council of*
" *regency.*" They alſo expreſſed a reſolution to deſtroy the *regiment de Flandres*, and the *gardes-du-corps*, who had diſgraced the national cockade! La Fayette attempted to expoſtulate, but in vain. The party were determined; the orator had made his ſpeech, and they would not riſk a diminution of its effect. To the general's remonſtrances they returned ſhort anſwers, that they were ready to ſhed their blood for *him*, as they believed he was not a traitor; but that the people were wretched, and inſiſted that the king ſhould be brought to Paris; that ſuch was the will of the people, and it muſt be obeyed. The general, obſerving that his eloquence had no effect on this deputation, harangued the body of the military, but with no better ſucceſs; they would not hear him; his voice was drowned in reiterated cries of *Bread! bread! To Verſailles! To Verſailles!* The ſame reception awaited Bailly, who joined his efforts to thoſe of la Fayette. Driven to this extremity, the general at length ſaid he would lead the armed force to Verſailles, if the committee of the commune would give orders for that purpoſe. Their deliberation on the ſubject was long; and the people began to think their own ſovereignty ſlighted. An innumerable mob ruſhed from the ſuburbs, and mingled with the cries of Bread, and to Verſailles, menacing exclamations againſt the general, who then became ſenſible of the dangers of his ſituation, as well as of thoſe which threatened the government. At length the order of the commune arrived; he gave the word of command to march; and at about five o'clock in the afternoon this motley band, conſiſting of eight hundred foot, armed with guns and pikes, three companies of grenadiers, and one of fuſileers, with three field-pieces, and national guards, and a collection of vagabonds from the dregs of the ſub-

urbs, to the number of twenty thouſand, ruſhed forwards for Verſailles.

On their arrival near Montreuil, la Fayette, hoping that, at a diſtance from the capital, his influence would be leſs counteracted, ordered that the troops ſhould take an oath to reſpect the habitation of the king. It is probable, however, that this oath met with ſome reſiſtance, as it was not generally taken; and to ſome of the battalions was not even mentioned.

La Fayette and his army arrived at Verſailles a little before midnight. The aſſembly had adjourned, but were ſummoned to return to their hall. The mob, notwithſtanding the inceſſant rain, had never deſiſted from attacking the *gardes-du-corps*. The ſoldiers who came with la Fayette manifeſted the moſt ſanguinary diſpoſitions, ſwearing that they would kill the queen, depoſe the king, and make the duke of Orleans regent, for he would give them bread. La Fayette waited on the king, with whom he had a long conference; at the end of which he came out, apparently well ſatisfied, and told ſeveral of the *gardes-du-corps* that every thing was ſettled; that the *ci-devant gardes Françaiſes* were to take their place, and they were to aſſume the national cockade on the morrow. The *gardes Françaiſes*, in fact, immediately took poſſeſſion of all the poſts of the palace, and drew up in the *Cour des Miniſtres*. At the time la Fayette left the king, he told him that theſe arrangements being made, every thing would remain quiet; he added, that to convince the army from Paris that no ſuſpicion was entertained of their conduct, the *gardes-du-corps* ſhould retire, and every one in the palace go peaceably to reſt: he ſolemnly engaged that he had taken ſuch meaſures as would effectually preſerve the public peace. From the palace, la Fayette went to the national aſſembly, where he adviſed the preſident to adjourn the ſitting, repeating the aſſurances he had made